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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------141729Z 004123 /41
O 141630Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5637
AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1303

EXDIS

NAIROBI FOR AMBASSADOR LOW

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR ZA RH US UK
SUBJ: KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT CARTER MESSAGE ON SMITH'S THREAT

REF: LUSAKA 1300

SUMMARY: IN KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT CARTER MESSAGE, KAUNDA EXPRESSES DEEP RESENTMENT OF ROLE BRITISH PLAYED IN INFORMING HIM OF THREAT BY SMITH (REFTEL). HE STATES HE WILL HOLD BRITISH RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY ESCALATION OF THE FIGHTING SINCE BRITAIN IS THE RE-SPONSIBLE COLONIAL POWER, AND SAYS HE EXPECTS BRITAIN TO STOP SMITH'S CONTEMPLATED ACTION, KAUNDA SAYS HE RESERVES THE RIGHT TO CALL ON ANYONE FOR AID IN THE EVENT ZAMBIA IS ATTACKED. IN ORAL PRESENTATION MADE WHEN HANDING OVER LETTER CHONA SAID: SMITH IS FEELING THREATENED BY ZAMBIA'S INTENT TO PROSECUTE OIL COMPANIES FOR SANCTION BUSTING; THIS HAS LED TO HIS THREAT AGAINST ZAMBIA. TIME IS NOW TO TELL OIL COMPANIES TO CUT OFF SUPPLIES TO RHODESIA. IF WAR ESCALATES, THERE WILL BE NO NEED FOR THE GRAHAM CONSULTATIVE GROUP; BRITAIN HAS PLAYED A STRANGE ROLE IN ACTING AS INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN SMITH AND ZAMBIA. REASON PRESIDENT KAUNDA CANCELLED HIS TRIP TO THE U.S. WAS BECAUSE OF
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HIS AWARENESS THAT TENSION WAS BUILDING ON BORDER BETWEEN ZAMBIA AND RHODESIA. WE HAVE SHARED GIST OF PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S MESSAGE WITH BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION. BRITISH ARE ALERT TO POSSIBILITY THAT FLAP OVER SMITH-OWEN TO KAUNDA WARNING COULD JEAPORDIZE WORK OF CONSULTATIVE GROUP. END SUMMARY

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO

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PRESIDENT CARTER DATED MAY 14 AND GIVEN TO ME AT 1630 LOCAL,
MAY 14 BY PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT MARK CHONA:

QUOTE
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

ON THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1977, THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER IN
LUSAKA TRANSMITTED A MESSAGE FROM THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND
COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY, DR. DAVID OWEN, DATED MAY 11, 1977,
ADDRESSED TO ME. THE FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF THAT MESSAGE:

"I HAVE HAD A MESSAGE FROM IAN SMITH. HE SAYS HE HAS RELIABLE
INFORMATION THAT ZAPU ARE PLANNING A MAJOR OFFENSIVE AGAINST
RHODESIA FROM ZAMBIA. HE WARNS THAT HE MIGHT HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE
BUT TO MOUNT PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKES AGAINST ZAPU BASES IN YOUR
TERRITORY. HE ASKS ME TO USE MY GOOD OFFICES WITH YOU TO
PREVENT AN ESCALATION OF THE FIGHTING WHICH, HE BELIEVES,
COULD JEOPARDISE OUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.
I HAVE REPLIED TO MR. SMITH, SIMPLY SAYING THAT I HAVE DRAWN
HIS REMARKS TO YOUR ATTENTION AND THAT, IN MY VIEW, ESCALATION
OF THE FIGHTING, BY EITHER SIDE, COULD HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES."

YOU WILL NO DOUBT UNDERSTAND THE GRAVITY OF THE MESSAGE. THE
PARADOX IS THAT IT IS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT THAT HAS TRANSMITTED
TO ME IAN SMITH'S THREAT TO ATTACK THE ZAMBIAN TERRITORY.
HMG HAS LIMITED THEIR RESPONSE TO DRAWING MY GOVERNMENT'S
ATTENTION AND HAVE MERELY REPORTED TO SMITH THEIR ACTION. I
CANNOT HIDE MY UTTER DISAPPOINTMENT IN THE BRITISH DEMONSTRATION
OF THEIR ABDICATION OF RESPONSIBILITY OVER THEIR COLONY.
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RHODESIA IS A BRITISH COLONY FOR WHICH THEY ARE RESPONSIBLE.
WE, THEREFORE, HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO HOLD THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
RESPONSIBLE FOR SMITH'S ATTACKS AGAINST ZAMBIA. WE WILL HOLD
THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ESCALATION OF THE WAR
WHICH WILL FOLLOW SUCH ATTACKS. WE WILL HOLD THE BRITISH GOVERN-
MENT RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY CONSEQUENCES WHICH WILL FOLLOW SUCH
AN ESCALATION. WE HAVE A DUTY TO DEFEND OUR TERRITORY. WE
RESERVE OUR RIGHT TO CALL UPON ANY FRIENDLY NATION IN THE WORLD
TO COME TO OUR AID TO REPEL THE ACTS OF AGRGRESSION WHICH
APPEAR TO HAVE ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.
WE EXPECT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO STOP IAN SMITH'S CONTEM-
PLATED ACTION BECAUSE IT IS A DIRECT THREAT NOT ONLY TO ZAMBIA
BUT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

WE ALSO KNOW FROM OUR SOURCES IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT EVERY MAJOR
RHODESIAN OFFENSIVE AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE WAS JOINTLY PLANNED BY
RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA AND FINANCED BY THE LATTER. WE NOW
KNOW THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS INVOLVED IN THE CURRENT MILITARY
PLANS AGAINST ZAMBIA.

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WE KNOW NOTHING OF THE PLANNED SO-CALLED OFFENSIVE BY ZAPU AGAINST REBEL RHODESIA. WE BELIEVE THAT IAN SMITH MERELY WANTS TO CREATE AN EXCUSE FOR ATTACKING ZAMBIA. WE WILL RESIST SUCH ATTACK .

FOR MANY YEARS WE HAVE SHOWN OUR TOLERANCE AND UNDERSTANDING IN THE SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL END TO THE WAR IN ZIMBABWE. IAN SMITH WITH THE APPARENT ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE BRITISH NOW WANTS TO DESTROY OUR COMMITMENT TO PEACE. IT IS WITH PROFOUND REGRET THAT WE CAN NO LONGER CONTINUE TO SHOULDER THE BURDEN OF BUILDING AND MAINTAINING PEACE ALONE.

I URGE YOU TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, SOUTH AFRICA AND IAN SMITH NOT TO ENCOURAGE A SITUATION WHOSE CONSEQUENCES WILL BE FELT FAR BEYOND THIS REGION.

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YOURS SINCERELY,
KENNETH KAUNDA
END QUOTE

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------141728Z 004094 /45
O 141630Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5638
AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1303

EXDIS

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AFTER PRESENTING THE LETTER CHONA SAID HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED
BY PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO MAKE FURTHER POINTS ORALLY.

KAUNDA WANTED PRESIDENT CARTER TO KNOW THAT ZAMBIA IS INTENT
ON INVESTIGATING ALL POSSIBLE MEANS FOR PROSECUTING OIL COMPANIES
WHICH HAVE VIOLATED OIL SANCTIONS FOR YEARS BY SUPPLYING OIL
TO RHODESIA. SMITH IS AWARE OF ZAMBIA'S INTENT AND HE FEELS
AFRAID AND THREATENED. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT HE IS MENACING
ZAMBIA. GIVEN THIS ILLUSTRATION OF SMITH'S SENSITIVITY TO THE
QUESTION OF A POSSIBLE REDUCTION IN HIS OIL SUPPLIES, "ISN'T THE
TIME NOW FOR OIL COMPANIES, INCLUDING AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES,
TO BE TOLD TO STOP SUPPLYING "SMITH."

PRESIDENT CARTER SHOULD KNOW THAT PRESIDENT KAUNDA TAKES MOST
SERIOUSLY SMITH'S THREAT. IF ZAMBIA IS ATTACKED, IT WILL BE
WAR, AND ZAMBIA WILL FEEL FREE TO CALL ON ANYONE FOR ASSISTANCE
IN DEFEATING THE ENEMY. UNLIKE MOZAMBIQUE ZAMIBA IS PREPARED TO
DEFEND ITS TERRITORY, AND IS PREPARED TO CALL FOR OUTSIDE
ASSISTANCE IN SO DOING. IF THERE SHOULD BE AN EXCALATION PROVOKED
BY SMITH, THE NEED FOR A GRAHAM CONSULTATIVE GROUP WOULD NO
LONGER EXIST.
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PRESIDENT KAUNDA WAS UTTERLY DISAPPOINTED AT THE INTERMEDIARY
ROLE BRITAIN HAD PLAYED IN RELAYING THE MESSAGE FROM SMITH.
AS THE COLONIAL POWER, BRITAIN SHOULD HAVE TOLD SMITH THAT,
IF HE MADE ANY MOVE AGAINST ZAMBIA, HE WOULD BE PUNISHED.
PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAD SENT A MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER
CALLAGHAN TO DETERMINE IF OWEN HAD ACTED WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S
KNOWLEDGE IN TRANSMITTING THE SMITH WARNING. ONCE THIS WAS
ASCERTAINED, PRESIDENT KAUNDA WOULD MWKE HIS FINAL DECISION ON
HOW TO TREAT THIS "STRANGE" INTERVENTION BY THE BRITISH.

PRESIDENT CARTER SHOULD BE INFORMED THAT THE REAL REASON,
PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAD CANCELLED HIS VISIT TO THE U.S. WAS BECAUSE
HE KNEW THAT TENSIONS WERE BUILDING ON THE ZAMBIA/RHODESIA
BORDER. THERE HAD BEEN INCREASED INCIDENTS OF RHODESIAN AIRCRAFT
VIOLATING ZAMBIAN AIR SPACE AND THE NUMBER OF SHOOTING INCIDENTS
HAD GROWN.

I SHARED WITH THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION THE GIST OF KAUNDA'S
LETTER. THEY FEEL THAT THE OWEN MESSAGE WARNING OF SMITH'S
THREAT HAS RAISED GRAVE PROBLEMS FOR THE EARLY SUCCESS OF THE
GRAHAM MISSION. THEY HAVE TRANSMITTED KAUNDA'S REQUEST FOR
CLARIFICATION AS TO WHETHER PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN HAD APPROVED
THE OWEN MESSAGE TO LONDON AND ARE AWAITING A REPLY. THEY DO
NOT KNOW JUST HOW FAR KAUNDA'S EMOTIONS, OR CHONA'S ADVICE,
WILL LEAD HIM IN PLACING STRAINS ON ZAMBIAN/UK RELATIONS,

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BUT KAUNDA'S COMBATATIVE MOOD MAKES THEM THINK HE IS READY TO GO PRETTY FAR.

COMMENT: IF WE ARE TO HAVE AN IMPACT ON CALMING KAUNDA DOWN, WHICH IS OBVIOUSLY OF HIGHEST IMPORTANCE IN GETTING THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP OFF TO A GOOD START, WE SHOULD GET A REPLY TO HIS LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER TO HIM SOONEST. OWEN'S LETTER HAS SUCCEEDED IN BRINGING TO THE FORE ALL OF THE RESENTMENT KAUNDA HAS BUILT UP AGAINST THE BRITISH OVER THE YEARS. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, AS REPORTED REFTEL, PRESIDENT KAUNDA INTENDS
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TO ADDRESS THE NATION ON THE SMITH THREAT MONDAY, MAY 16.
CLINGERMAN

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Disposition Approved on Date:
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